The Dominion of Providence over the Paſſions of Men.

A

SERMON,

PREACHED

AT PRINCETON, on the 17th of MAY, 1776.

BEING

The GENERAL FAST appointed by the CONGRESS through the UNITED COLONIES.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

An ADDRESS to the NATIVES of SCOTLAND, reſiding in AMERICA.

BY

JOHN WITHERSPOON, D. D.

Preſident of the College of NEW-JERSEY.

The Second EDITION, with Elucidating REMARKS.

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IT hath been frequently ſaid, by many perſons of the beſt intelligence, that the unhappy commotions in our American colonies, have been conſiderably promoted, if not primarly agitated, by clerical influence: and none of that order have had a greater ſhare of it aſcribed to them than Dr. Witherſpoon, though not credited by many of his favourites in this country. The following Sermon and Addreſs, however, will fully juſtify the allegation, and ſilence the doctor's friends.

IN the Sermon the doctor blends the moſt rebellious ſentiments with the moſt ſacred and important truths; and hath the audacity to affirm, that not only the *temporal* but *eternal* happineſs of the revolted coloniſts depend upon perſevering in their independency, and undauntedly oppoſing the arms of their lawful Sovereign. And in the Addreſs to his countrymen, he evidences himſelf to be the moſt inveterate enemy to his king and country; and ſtretches every nerve to induce his countymen to imbibe his political ſentiments. And that his rebellious tenets may be diffuſed through the different colonies, his Sermon and Addreſs muſt be printed and publiſhed, and dedicated to the chief of rebel faction.

THE reader will eaſily perceive, that the doctor not only exerts his utmoſt abilities to inſtigate the deluded coloniſts to perſevere in their rebellious courſes, but labours to inflame their minds againſt the determinations of the Britiſh parliament. To effectuate this, the beſt of Kings hath the moſt vile and unjuſt epithets aſcribed to him: the ſalutary and equitable acts of the Britiſh parliament are pronounced unjuſt and tyrannical: the ableſt of miniſters are repreſented as corrupt, cruel, and oppreſſive: the moſt lenitive meaſures of admini-

ſtration and government are fluted at, and treated with contempt: the mildeſt commanders and beſt diſciplined army, are painted out as barbarous, inhumane, and brutal: and the moſt unexamplified inſtances of a pacific and forgiving diſpoſition towards the moſt daring and unprovoked rebels, are rejected in the moſt contemptuous manner. Whilſt, on the other hand, the moſt wanton cruelties, ſhocking barbarities, and unheard-of inſtances of rapine, murder, and devaſtation, on the ſide of the provincial army, have a vail drawn over them.

It hath been confidently alledged, that though the doctor did not ſit as a member of the Congreſs, he was acquainted with their deliberations, conſulted in every emergency, had a hand in the compoſition of their papers, and gave his opinion in ſundry important matters. The truth of theſe allegations is but too much confirmed by the following performance: and it is even now ſaid he is admitted a member.

It is not the intention of the editors of the preſent edition of the doctor's Sermon and Addreſs to gain friends to his ſentiments; this is not likely to be the caſe with any who will peruſe them with attention: but to ſhew what artful means, and fallacious arguments have been made uſe of by ambitious and ſelf-deſigning men, to ſtir up the poor infatuated Americans to the preſent rebellious meaſures; what an active hand even Dr. Witherſpoon has had therein; to convince his friends, in this country, of the truth of his being a chief promoter of the American revolt; and that if he falls into the hands of government, and meets with the demerit of his offence, he hath juſtly and deſervedly procured it to himſelf.

It was judged proper to affix ſome elucidating foot notes to the preſent edition; and as the doctor has a few, theſe now added are marked with *S. R.* at the end of the paragraph.

TO THE HONOURABLE

JOHN HANCOCK, Esq.

PRESIDENT OF THE CONGRESS

OF THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA;

IN

TESTIMONY

OF THE HIGHEST ESTEEM

FOR

HIS PERSONAL CHARACTER

AND

PUBLIC CONDUCT,

THE FOLLOWING

SERMON

IS HUMBLY INSCRIBED

BY

HIS MOST OBEDIENT

HUMBLE SERVANT,

THE AUTHOR.

ERRATA.

In page 29. line 5. in the notes, after *it is*.— read *S. R.*
——— 38. ——— 5. from the foot, for *and* read *an*.

A SERMON, &c.

PSAL. lxxvi. 10.

Surely the wrath of Man ſhall praiſe thee; the remainder of wrath ſhalt thou reſtrain.

THERE is not a greater evidence either of the reality or the power of religion, than a firm belief of God's univerſal preſence, and a conſtant attention to the influence and operation of his providence. It is by this means that the Chriſtian may be ſaid, in the emphatical ſcripture language, *to walk with God, and to endure as ſeeing him who is inviſible.*

THE doctrine of divine providence is very full and complete in the ſacred oracles. It extends not only to things which we may think of great moment, and therefore worthy of notice; but to things the moſt indifferent and inconſiderable: *Are not two ſparrows ſold for a farthing*, ſays our Lord? *and one of them falleth not on the ground without your heavenly Father*; *nay, the very hairs of your head are all numbered.* It extends not only to things beneficial and ſalutary, or to the direction and aſſiſtance of thoſe who are the ſervants of the living God; but to things ſeemingly moſt hurtful and deſtructive, and to perſons the moſt refractory and diſobedient. He over-rules all his creatures, and all their actions. Thus we are told, that *fire, hail, ſnow, vapour, and ſtormy wind, fulfil his word*, in the courſe of nature; and even ſo the moſt impetuous and diſorderly paſſions of men, that are under no reſtraint from themſelves, are yet perfectly ſubject to the dominion of Jehovah. They carry his commiſſion, they obey his orders, they are limited and reſtrained by his authority, and they conſpire with every thing elſe in promoting his glory. There is the greater need to take notice of this, that men are

not

not generally ſufficiently aware of the diſtinction between the law of God and his purpoſe; they are apt to ſuppoſe, that as the temper of the ſinner is contrary to the one, ſo the outrages of the ſinner are able to defeat the other; than which nothing can be more falſe. The truth is plainly aſſerted, and nobly expreſſed by the Pſalmiſt in the text, *Surely the wrath of man ſhall praiſe thee; the remainder of wrath ſhalt thou reſtrain.*

THIS pſalm was evidently compoſed as a ſong of praiſe for ſome ſignal victory obtained, which was at the ſame time a remarkable deliverance from threatening danger. The author was one or other of the later prophets; and the occaſion probably the unſucceſsful aſſault of Jeruſalem, by the army of Senacherib king of Aſſyria, in the days of Hezekiah. Great was the inſolence and boaſting of his generals and ſervants againſt the city of the living God, as may be ſeen in the thirty-ſixth chapter of Iſaiah. Yet it pleaſed God to deſtroy their enemies, and, by his own immediate interpoſition, to grant them deliverance. Therefore the Pſalmiſt ſays in the fifth and ſixth verſes of this pſalm, *The ſtout-hearted are ſpoiled, they have ſlept their ſleep. None of the men of might have found their hands. At thy rebuke, O God of Jacob! both the chariot and the horſe are caſt into a deep ſleep.* After a few more remarks to the ſame purpoſe, he draws the inference, or makes the reflection in the text, *Surely the wrath of man ſhall praiſe thee; the remainder of wrath ſhalt thou reſtrain:* which may be paraphraſed thus, The fury and injuſtice of oppreſſors ſhall bring in a tribute of praiſe to thee; the influence of thy righteous providence ſhall be clearly diſcerned; the countenance and ſupport thou wilt give to thine own people ſhall be glorioufly illuſtrated; thou ſhalt ſet the bounds which the boldeſt cannot paſs.

I AM ſenſible, my brethren, that the time and occaſion of this pſalm, may ſeem to be in one reſpect ill ſuited to the intereſting circumſtances of this country at preſent. It was compoſed after the victory was obtained; whereas we are now but putting on the harneſs, and entering upon an important conteſt, the length of which

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it is impoſſible to forſee, and the iſſue of which it will perhaps be thought preſumption to foretel. But as the truth, with reſpect to God's moral government, is the ſame and unchangeable; as the iſſue, in the caſe of Senacherib's invaſion, did but lead the prophet to acknowledge it; our duty and intereſt conſpire in calling upon us to improve it. And I have choſen to inſiſt upon it on this day of ſolemn humiliation, as it will probably help us to a clear and explicit view of what ſhould be the chief ſubject of our prayers and endeavours, as well as the great object of our hope and truſt, in our preſent ſituation.

THE truth, then, aſſerted in this text, which I propoſe to illuſtrate and improve, is,—*That all the diſſorderly paſſions of men, whether expoſing the innocent to private injury, or whether they are the arrows of divine judgment in public calamity, ſhall in the end, be to the praiſe of God:* Or, to apply it more particularly to the preſent ſtate of the American Colonies, and the plague of war,—*The ambition of miſtaken princes, the cunning and cruelty of oppreſſive and corrupt miniſters, and even the inhumanity of brutal ſoldiers, however dreadful, ſhall finally promote the glory of God, and in the mean-time, while the ſtorm continues, his mercy and kindneſs ſhall appear in preſcribing bounds to their rage and fury**.

IN diſcourſing of this ſubject, it is my intention, through the aſſiſtance of divine grace,

I. To point out to you in ſome particulars, how the wrath of Man praiſes God.

II. To apply theſe principles to our preſent ſituation, by inferences of truth for your inſtruction and comfort, and by ſuitable exhortations to duty in the important criſis.

* Or, with as much propriety the doctrine might have been framed thus: 'That the haughty inſolence of ambitious and aſpiring clergy-men, however 'inſufferable for a time; the moſt rebellious meaſures of unnatural ſubjects 'againſt the beſt of kings and the mildeſt government; and the moſt ſavage 'cruelties and unheard-of barbarities of miſled and undiſciplined rebels, ſhall, 'in the iſſue, turn out to the glory of God, and the ruin and diſgrace of the 'promoters, by having reſtraints ſet unto them, and diſappointment written 'upon all their deſigns.' *S. R.*

I. In the *firſt* place, I am to point out to you, in ſome particulars, how the wrath of man praiſes God. I ſay, in *ſome* inſtances, becauſe it is far from being in my power, either to mention or explain the whole. There is an unſearchable depth in the divine counſels, which it is impoſſible for us to penetrate. It is the duty of every good man to place the moſt unlimited confidence in divine wiſdom, and to believe that thoſe meaſures of providence that are moſt unintelligible to him, are yet planned with the ſame ſkill, and directed to the ſame great purpoſes as others, the reaſon and tendency of which he can explain in the cleareſt manner. But where revelation and experience enables us to diſcover the wiſdom, equity, or mercy of divine providence, nothing can be more delightful or profitable to a ſerious mind, and therefore I beg your attention to the following remarks.

In the *firſt* place, the wrath of man praiſes God, as it is an example and illuſtration of divine truth, and clearly points out the corruption of our nature, which is the foundation-ſtone of the doctrine of redemption. Nothing can be more abſolutely neceſſary to true religion, than a clear and full conviction of the ſinfulneſs of our nature and ſtate. Without this there can be neither repentance in the ſinner, nor humility in the believer. Without this all that is ſaid in ſcripture of the wiſdom and mercy of God, in providing a Saviour, is without force and without meaning. Juſtly does our Saviour ſay, *The whole have no need of a phyſician, but thoſe that are ſick. I came not to call the righteous but ſinners to repentance.* Thoſe who are not ſenſible that they are ſinners, will treat every exhortation to repentance, and every offer of mercy, with diſdain or defiance.

But where can we have a more affecting view of the corruption of our nature, than in the wrath of man, when exerting itſelf in oppreſſion, cruelty, and blood? It muſt be owned, indeed, that this truth is abundantly manifeſt in times of the greateſt tranquillity. Others may, if they pleaſe, treat the corruption of our nature as a chimera; for my part, I *ſee* it every where, and I

feel

feel it every day *. All the diſorders in human ſociety, and the greateſt part even of the unhappineſs we are expoſed to, ariſes from the envy, malice, covetouſneſs, and other luſts of man. If we and all about us were juſt what we ought to be in all reſpects, we ſhould not need to go any further for heaven, for it would be upon earth. But war and violence preſent a ſpectacle ſtill more awful. How affecting is it to think, that the luſt of domination ſhould be ſo violent and univerſal? That men ſhould ſo rarely be ſatisfied with their own poſſeſſions and acquiſitions, or even with the benefit that would ariſe from mutual ſervice, but ſhould look upon the happineſs and tranquillity of others, as an obſtruction to their own. That, as if the great law of nature were not enough, *Duſt thou art, and to duſt thou ſhalt return*, they ſhould be ſo furiouſly ſet for the deſtruction of each other. It is ſhocking to think, ſince the firſt murder of Abel by his brother Cain, what havock has been made of man by man in every age. What is it that fills the pages of hiſtory, but the wars and contentions of princes and empires? What vaſt numbers has lawleſs ambition brought into the field, and delivered as a prey to the deſtructive ſword?

If we dwell a little upon the circumſtances, they become deeply affecting. The mother bears a child with pain, rears him by the laborious attendance of many years; yet in the prime of life, in the vigour of health, and bloom of beauty, in a moment he is cut down by the dreadful inſtruments of death. *Every battle of the warrior is with confuſed noiſe, and garments rolled in blood;* but the horror of the ſcene is not confined to the field of ſlaughter. Few go there unrelated, or fall unlamented; in every hoſtile encounter, what muſt be the impreſſion upon the relations of the deceaſed? The bodies of the dead can only be ſeen, or the cries of the dying heard for a ſingle day, but many days ſhall not

* A truth remarkably verified in the doctor's late and preſent conduct, in acting ſo much out of character, in his being ſo inſtrumental to ſtir up and promote the preſent unnatural revolt of the colonies, ſo prejudicial to them and diſgraceful to himſelf, when now obliged to abandon his habitations, where he enjoyed all manner of external affluence and happineſs. *S. R.*

put an end to the mourning of a parent for a beloved ſon, the joy and ſupport of his age, or of the widow and helpleſs offspring for a father, taken away in the fulneſs of health and vigour.

But if this may be juſtly ſaid of all wars between man and man, what ſhall we be able to ſay that is ſuitable to the abhorred ſcene of civil war between citizen and citizen? How deeply affecting is it, that thoſe who are the ſame in complexion, the ſame in blood, in language, and in religion, ſhould, notwithſtanding, butcher one another with unrelenting rage, and glory in the deed? That men ſhould lay waſte the fields of their fellow ſubjects, with whoſe proviſion they themſelves had been often fed, and conſume with devouring fire thoſe houſes, in which they had often found a hoſpitable ſhelter?

These things are apt to overcome a weak mind with fear, or overwhelm it with ſorrow, and in the greateſt number are apt to excite the higheſt indignation, and kindle up a ſpirit of revenge. If this laſt has no other tendency than to direct and invigorate the meaſures of ſelf-defence, I do not take upon me to blame it; on the contrary, I call it *neceſſary* and *laudable*. *

But what I mean at this time to prove by the preceding reflections, and wiſh to impreſs on your minds, is the depravity of our nature. *From whence come wars and fightings among you*, ſays the apoſtle James †, *come they not hence, even from your luſts, that war in your members?* Men of lax and corrupt principles, take great delight in ſpeaking to the praiſe of human nature, and extolling its dignity, without diſtinguiſhing what it was, at its firſt creation, from what it is in its preſent fallen ſtate. Theſe fine ſpeculations are very grateful to a worldly mind. They are alſo much more pernicious to uncautious and unthinking youth, than even the temptations to a diſſolute and ſenſual life, againſt which they

* If the calamities of war exhibit ſuch an awful ſcene; if inteſtine commotions are ſo deeply diſtreſſing; what ſtings of conſcience may it not juſtly give thoſe, who ſhould be ambaſſadors of peace, but yet have an active hand in ſtirring up and promoting ſuch horrid diſaſters, and *glory in the deed!* S. R.

† James iv. 1.

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are fortified by the dictates of natural conſcience, and a ſenſe of public ſhame. But I appeal from theſe viſionary reaſonings to the hiſtory of all ages, and the inflexible teſtimony of daily experience. Theſe will tell us what men have been in their practice, and from thence you may judge what they are by nature, while unrenewed. If I am not miſtaken, a cool and candid attention, either to the paſt hiſtory, or preſent ſtate of the world, but above all, to the ravages of lawleſs power, ought to humble us in the duſt. It ſhould at once lead us to acknowledge the juſt view given us in ſcripture, of our loſt ſtate; to deſire the happy influence of renewing grace each for ourſelves; and to long for the dominion of righteouſneſs and peace, when *men ſhall beat their ſwords into plow-ſhares, and their ſpears into pruning hooks; when nation ſhall not lift up ſword againſt nation, neither ſhall they learn war any more* *, †.

* Micah iv. 3.

† I cannot help embracing this opportunity of making a remark or two upon a virulent reflexion thrown out againſt this doctrine, in a well known pamphlet, *Common Senſe*. The author of that work expreſſes himſelf thus, 'If the 'firſt king of any country was by election, that likewiſe eſtabliſhes a prece-'dent for the next; for to ſay, that the right of all future generations is 'taken away, by the act of the firſt electors, in their choice not 'only of a king, but of a family of kings for ever, hath no parallel in or 'out of ſcripture, but the doctrine of original ſin, which ſuppoſes the free will 'of all men loſt in Adam; and from ſuch compariſon, it will admit of no o-'ther: hereditary ſucceſſion can derive no glory. For as in Adam all ſinned, 'and as in the firſt electors all men obeyed; as in the one all mankind were 'ſubjected to Satan, and in the other to Sovereignty; as our innocence was 'loſt in the firſt, and our authority in the laſt; and as both diſable us from 're-aſſuming ſome former ſtate and privilege, it unanſwerably follows, that 'original ſin and hereditary ſucceſſion are parallels. Diſhonourable rank! 'Inglorious connection! Yet the moſt ſubtle ſophiſt cannot produce a juſter 'ſimile *.' Without the ſhadow of reaſoning, he is pleaſed to repreſent the doctrine of original ſin as an object of contempt or abhorrence. I beg leave to demur a little to the *candor*, the *prudence*, and the *juſtice* of this proceeding.

1. Was it *modeſt* or *candid* for a perſon without name or character, to talk in this ſupercilious manner of a doctrine that has been eſpouſed and defended by many of the greateſt and beſt men that the world ever ſaw, and makes an eſſential part of the eſtabliſhed Creeds and Confeſſions of all the Proteſtant churches without exception? I thought the grand modern plea had been, freedom of ſentiment, and charitable thoughts of one another. Are ſo many of us, then, beyond the reach of this gentleman's charity? I do aſſure him that ſuch preſumption and ſelf-confidence are no recommendation to me either of his character or ſentiments.

2. Was it *prudent*, when he was pleading a public cauſe, to ſpeak in ſuch opprobrious terms of a doctrine, which he knew, or ought to have known, was believed

* *Common Senſe, page* 11. *Bradford's edition.*

2. The wrath of man praiſeth God as it is the inſtrument in his hand for bringing ſinners to repentance, and for the correction and improvement of his own children. Whatever be the nature of the affliction with which he viſits either perſons, families, or nations; whatever be the diſpoſition or intention of thoſe whoſe malice he employs as a ſcourge, the diſign on his part is, to rebuke men for iniquity, to bring them to repentance, and to promote their holineſs and peace. The ſalutary nature, and ſanctifying influence of affliction in general, is often taken notice of in ſcripture, both as making a part of the purpoſe of God, and the experience of his ſaints*. *Now, no affliction*, ſays the apoſtle, *for the preſent ſeemeth to be joyous, but grievous: Nevertheleſs afterward it yieldeth the peacable fruit of righteouſneſs unto them, which are exerciſed thereby.* But what we are particularly led to obſerve by the ſubject of this diſcourſe is, that the wrath of man, or the violence of the oppreſſor, praiſeth God in this reſpect, for it has a peculiar tendency to alarm the ſecure conſcience, to convince and humble the obſtinate ſinner. This is plain from the nature of the thing, and from the teſtimony of experience. Public calamities, particularly the deſtroying ſword, is ſo awful that it cannot but have a powerful influence in leading men, to conſider the preſence and the power of God. It threatens them not only in themſelves, but touches them in all that is dear to them, whether relations or poſſeſſions.

believed and profeſſed by, I ſuppoſe, a great majority of very different denominations? Is this gentleman ignorant of human nature, as well as an enemy to the Chriſtian faith? Are men ſo little tenacious of their religious ſentiments, whether true or falſe? The prophet thought otherwiſe, who ſaid, *Hath a nation changed their gods which yet are no gods?* Was it the way to obtain the favour of the public, to deſpiſe what they hold ſacred? Or ſhall we ſuppoſe this author ſo aſtoniſhingly ignorant, as to think that all men now, whoſe favour is worth aſking, have given up the doctrine of the New-Teſtament? If he does, he is greatly miſtaken.

3. In fine, I aſk, where was the *juſtice* of this proceeding? Is there ſo little to be ſaid for the doctrine of original ſin, that it is not to be refuted, but deſpiſed? Is the ſtate of the world ſuch, as to render this doctrine not only falſe, but incredible? Has the fruit been of ſuch a quality as to exclude all doubts of the goodneſs of the tree?—On the contrary, I cannot help being of opinion, that ſuch has been the viſible ſtate of the world in every age, as cannot be accounted for on any other principles, than what we learn from the word of God, that *the imagination of the heart of man is only evil from his youth, and that continually*, Gen. vi. 5.—viii. 21.

* Heb. xii. 11.

The

The prophet Iſaiah ſays *, *Yea, in the way of thy judgments, O Lord, have we waited for thee,—for when thy judgments are in the earth, the inhabitants of the world will learn righteouſneſs.* He conſiders it as the moſt powerful mean of alarming the ſecure, and ſubduing the obſtinate. *Lord, when thy hand is lifted up, they will not ſee, but they ſhall ſee and be aſhamed for their envy at the people; yea, the fire of thine enemies ſhall devour them* †. It is alſo ſometimes repreſented as a ſymptom of a hopeleſs and irrecoverable ſtate, when public judgments have no effect. Thus ſays the prophet Jeremiah ‡, *O Lord, are not thine eyes upon the truth? thou haſt ſtricken them, but they have not grieved; thou haſt conſumed them, but they have refuſed to receive correction: They have made their faces harder than a rock, they have refuſed to return.* We can eaſily ſee in the hiſtory of the children of Iſrael, how ſevere ſtrokes brought them to ſubmiſſion and penitence. *When he ſlew them, then they ſought him; and they returned and enquired early after God: and they remembered that God was their rock, and the high God their redeemer* ‖. Both nations in general, and private perſons are apt to grow remiſs and lax in a time of proſperity and ſeeming ſecurity; but when their earthly comforts are endangered or withdrawn, it lays them under a kind of neceſſity to ſeek for ſomething better in their place. Men muſt have comfort from one quarter or another. When earthly things are in a pleaſing and promiſing condition, too many are apt to *find their reſt*, and be ſatisfied with them as their only portion. But when the vanity and paſſing nature of all created comfort is diſcovered, they are compelled to look for ſomething more durable as well as valuable. What therefore can be more to the praiſe of God, than that when a whole people have forgotten their reſting place, when they have abuſed their privileges, and deſpiſed their mercies, they ſhould, by diſtreſs and ſuffering, be made to *hearken to the rod*, and return to their duty?

THERE is an inexpreſſible depth and variety in the judgments of God, as in all his other works; but we

* Iſa. xxvi. 8, 9. † Ver. 11. ‡ Jer. v. 3. ‖ Pſalm lxxviii. 34. 35.

may

may lay down this as a certain principle, that if there were no ſin, there could be no ſuffering. Therefore they are certainly for the correction of ſin, or for the trial, illuſtration, and perfecting of the grace and virtue of his own people. We are not to ſuppoſe, that thoſe who ſuffer moſt, or who ſuffer ſooneſt, are therefore more criminal than others. Our Saviour himſelf thought it neceſſary to give a caution againſt this raſh concluſion, as we are informed by the evangeliſt Luke, *There were preſent at that ſeaſon, ſome that told him of the Galileans, whoſe blood Pilate had mingled with their ſacrifices. And Jeſus anſwering, ſaid unto them, Suppoſe ye that theſe Galileans were ſinners above all the Galileans, becauſe they ſuffered ſuch things? I tell you, nay; but except ye repent, ye ſhall all likewiſe periſh*†. I ſuppoſe we may ſay, with ſufficient warrant, that it often happens, that thoſe for whom God hath deſigns of the greateſt mercy, are firſt brought to the trial, that they may enjoy, in due time, the ſalutary effect of the unpalatable medicine.

I MUST alſo take leave to obſerve, and I hope no pious humble ſufferer will be unwilling to make the application, that there is often a diſcernible mixture of ſovereignty and righteouſneſs in providential diſpenſations. It is the prerogative of God to do what he will with his own; but he often diſplays his juſtice itſelf, by throwing into the furnace thoſe, who, though they may not be viſibly worſe than others, may yet have more to anſwer for, as having been favoured with more diſtinguiſhed privileges, both civil and ſacred. It is impoſſible for us to make a juſt and full compariſon of the character either of perſons or nations, and it would be extremely fooliſh for any to attempt it, either for increaſing their own ſecurity, or impeaching the juſtice of the Supreme Ruler. Let us therefore neither forget the truth, nor go beyond it. *His mercy fills the earth.* He is alſo *known by the judgment which he executeth.* The wrath of man in its moſt tempeſtuous rage, fulfills his will, and finally promotes the good of his choſen.

3. THE wrath of man praiſeth God, as he ſets bounds

† Luke xiii. 1, 2, 3.

to

to it, or reſtrains it by his providence, and ſometimes makes it evidently a mean of promoting and illuſtrating his glory.

THERE is no part of divine providence in which a greater beauty and majeſty appears, than when the Almighty Ruler turns the councils of wicked men into confuſion, and makes them militate againſt themſelves. If the Pſalmiſt may be thought to have had a view in this text to the truths illuſtrated in the two former obſervations, there is no doubt at all that he had a particular view to this, as he ſays in the latter part of the verſe, *the remainder of wrath ſhalt thou reſtrain.* The ſcripture abounds with inſtances, in which the deſigns of oppreſſors were either wholly diſappointed, or in execution fell far ſhort of the malice of their intention, and in ſome they turned out to the honour and happineſs of the perſons or the people, whom they were intended to deſtroy. We have an inſtance of the firſt of theſe in the hiſtory to which my text relates *. We have alſo an inſtance in Eſther, in which the moſt miſchievous deſigns of Haman, the ſon of Hamedatha the Agagite, againſt Mordecai the Jew, and the nation from which he ſprung, turned out at laſt to his own deſtruction, the honour of Mordecai, and the ſalvation and peace of his people.

FROM the New Teſtament I will make choice of that memorable event on which the ſalvation of believers in every age reſts as its foundation, the death and ſufferings of the Son of God. This the great adverſary, and all his agents and inſtruments, proſecuted with unrelenting rage. When they had blackened him with ſlander, when they ſcourged him with ſhame, when they had condemned him in judgment, and nailed him to the croſs, how could they help eſteeming their victory complete? But, oh the unſearchable wiſdom of God! they were but perfecting the great deſign laid for the ſalvation of ſinners. Our bleſſed Redeemer, by his death, finiſhed his work, overcame principalities and powers, and made

* The matter is fully ſtated and reaſoned upon by the prophet Iſaiah, chap. x. from the 5th to the 19th verſe.

a ſhew of them openly, triumphing over them in his croſs. With how much juſtice do the apoſtles and their company offer this doxology to God? *They lift up their voice with one accord, and ſaid, Lord, Thou art God which haſt made heaven and earth, and the ſea, and all that in them is: Who by the mouth of thy ſervant David haſt ſaid, Why did the heathen rage, and the people imagine vain things? The kings of the earth ſtood up, and the rulers were gathered together againſt the Lord, and againſt his Chriſt. For of a truth, againſt thy holy child Jeſus, whom thou haſt anointed, both Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the Gentiles, and the people of Iſrael, were gathered together, for to do whatſoever thy hand and thy counſel determined before to be done* *.

In all after ages in conformity to this, the deepeſt laid contrivances of the prince of darkneſs, have turned out to the confuſion of their author; and I know not, but conſidering his malice and pride, this perpetual diſappointment, and the ſuperiority of divine wiſdom, may be one great ſource of his ſuffering and torment. The croſs hath ſtill been the banner of truth, under which it hath been carried through the world. Perſecution has been but as the furnace to the gold, to purge it of its droſs, to manifeſt its purity, and increaſe its luſtre. It was taken notice of very early, that the blood of the martyrs was the ſeed of Chriſtianity; the more abundantly it was ſhed, the more plentifully did the haveſt grow.

So certain has this appeared, that the moſt violent infidels, both of early and later ages, have endeavoured to account for it, and have obſerved, that there is a ſpirit of obſtinacy in man, which inclines him to reſiſt violence, and that ſeverity doth but increaſe oppoſition, be the cauſe what it will. They ſuppoſe that perſecution is equally proper to propogate truth and error. This, though in part true, will by no means generally hold. Such an apprehenſion, however, gave occaſion to a glorious triumph of divine providence, of an oppoſite kind, which I muſt ſhortly relate to you. One of the

* Acts iv. 24—28.

Roman

Roman emperors, Julian, ſurnamed the apoſtate, perceiving how impoſſible it was to ſuppreſs the goſpel by violence, endeavoured to extinguiſh it by neglect and ſcorn. He left the Chriſtians unmoleſted for ſometime, but gave all manner of encouragement to thoſe of oppoſite principles, and particularly to the Jews, out of hatred to the Chriſtians; and that he might bring public diſgrace upon the Galileans, as he affected to ſtile them, he encouraged the Jews to rebuild the temple of Jeruſalem, and viſibly refute the prophecy of Chriſt, that it ſhould lye under perpetual deſolation. But this prophane attempt was ſo ſignally fruſtrated, that it ſerved as much as any one circumſtance to ſpread the glory of our Redeemer, and eſtabliſh the faith of his ſaints. It is affirmed by ſome ancient authors, particularly by Ammianus Marcellinus, a heathen hiſtorian, that fire came out of the earth and conſumed the workmen when laying the foundation. But in whatever way it was prevented, it is beyond all controverſy, from the concurring teſtimony of Heathens and Chriſtians, that little or no progreſs was ever made in it, and that in a ſhort time, it was entirely defeated.

It is proper here to obſerve, that at the time of the Reformation, when religion began to revive, nothing contributed more to facilitate its reception, and increaſe its progreſs, than the violence of its perſecutors. Their cruelty, and the patience of the ſufferers, naturally diſpoſed men to examine and weigh the cauſe to which they adhered with ſo much conſtancy and reſolution. At the ſame time alſo, when they were perſecuted in one city they fled to another, and carried the diſcoveries of Popiſh fraud to every part of the world. It was by ſome of thoſe who were perſecuted in Germany, that the light of the reformation was brought ſo early into Britain.

The power of divine providence appears with the moſt diſtinguiſhed luſtre, when ſmall and inconſiderable circumſtances, and ſometimes, the weather and ſeaſons have defeated the moſt formidable armaments, and fruſtrated the beſt concerted expeditions. Near two hundred years ago, the monarchy of Spain was in the

height of its power and glory, and determined to cruſh the intereſt of the reformation. They ſent out a powerful armament againſt Britain, giving it oſtentatiouſly, and in my opinion profanely, the name of the Invincible Armada. But it pleaſed God ſo entirely to diſcomfit it by tempeſts, that a ſmall part of it returned home, though no Britiſh force had been oppoſed to it at all.

We have a remarkable inſtance of the influence of ſmall circumſtances in providence in the Engliſh hiſtory. The two moſt remarkable perſons in the civil wars, had earneſtly deſired to withdraw themſelves from the contentions of the times, Mr. Hampden and Oliver Cromwell. They had actually taken their paſſage in a ſhip for New-England, when by an arbitary order of council they were compelled to remain at home. The conſequence of this was, that one of them was the ſoul of the republican oppoſition to monarchical uſurpation during the civil wars; and the other, in the courſe of that conteſt, was the greateſt inſtrument in bringing the tyrant to the block.

The only other hiſtorial remark I am to make is, that the violent perſecution which many eminent Chriſtians met with in England from their brethren, who called themſelves Proteſtants, drove them in great numbers to a diſtant part of the world, where the light of the goſpel and true religion were unknown. Some of the American ſettlements, particularly thoſe in New-England, were chiefly made by them; and as they carried the knowledge of Chriſt to the dark places of the earth, ſo they continue themſelves in as great a degree of purity of faith, and ſtrictneſs of practice, or rather a greater, than is to be found in any proteſtant church now in the world. Does not the wrath of man in this inſtance praiſe God? Was not the accuſer of the brethren, who ſtirs up their enemies, thus taken in his own craftineſs, and his kingdom ſhaken by the very means which he employed to eſtabliſh it †.

† Leſt this ſhould be thought a temporiſing compliment to the people of New-England, who have been the firſt ſufferers in the preſent conteſt, and have ſet ſo noble an example of invincible fortitude in withſtanding the violence

II. I proceed now to the ſecond general head, which was to apply the principles illuſtrated above to our preſent ſituation, by inferences of truth for your inſtruction and comfort, and by ſuitable exhortations to duty in this important criſis. And,

In the firſt place, I would take the opportunity on this occaſion, and from this ſubject, to preſs every hearer to a ſincere concern for his own ſoul's ſalvation. There are times when the mind may be expected to be more awake to divine truth, and the conſcience more open to the arrows of conviction than at others. A ſeaſon of public judgment is of this kind, as appears from what has been already ſaid. That curioſity and attention at leaſt are raiſed, in ſome degree, is plain from the unuſual throng of this aſſembly. Can you have a clearer view of the ſinfulneſs of your nature, than when the rod of the oppreſſor is lifted up, and when you ſee men putting on the habit of the warrior, and collecting on every hand the weapons of hoſtility and inſtruments of death? I do not blame your ardour in preparing for the reſolute defence of your temporal rights. But conſider, I beſeech you, the truly infinite importance of the ſalvation of your ſouls. Is it of much moment whether you and your children ſhall be rich or poor, at liberty or in bonds? Is it of much moment whether this beautiful country ſhall increaſe in fruitfulneſs from year to year, being cultivated by active induſtry, and poſſeſſed by independent freemen, or the ſcanty produce of the neglected fields ſhall be eaten up by *hungry publicans*, while the timid owner trembles at the *tax-gatherers* approach? And is it of leſs moment my brethren, whether you ſhall be the heirs of glory, or the heirs of hell? Is you ſtate on earth for a few fleeting years of ſo much moment? And is it of leſs moment, what ſhall be your ſtate through endleſs ages? Have you aſſembled together willingly to hear what ſhall be ſaid on public affairs, and to join in imploring the bleſſing of God on the councils and

of oppreſſion, I think it proper to obſerve, that the whole paragraph is copied from a ſermon on Pſalm lxxiv. 22. prepared and preached in Scotland, in the month of Auguſt, 1758.

arms

arms of the united colonies? And can you be unconcerned, what ſhall become of you for ever, when all the monuments of human greatneſs ſhall be laid in aſhes? For, *the earth* itſelf *and all the works that are therein ſhall be burnt up* †.

WHEREFORE, my beloved hearers, as the miniſtry of reconciliation is committed to me, I beſeech you in the moſt earneſt manner, to attend to *the things that belong to your peace, before they are hid from your eyes.* How ſoon, and in what manner a ſeal ſhall be ſet upon the character and ſtate of every perſon here preſent, it is impoſſible to know, for he who only can know does not think proper to reveal it. But you may reſt aſſured, that there is no time more ſuitable, and that there is none ſo ſafe as that which is preſent, ſince it is wholly uncertain whether any other ſhall be yours. Thoſe who ſhall firſt fall in battle, have not many more warnings to receive. There are ſome few daring and hardened ſinners who deſpiſe eternity itſelf, and ſet their maker at defiance; but the far greater number by ſtaving off their convictions to a more convenient ſeaſon, have been taken unprepared, and thus eternally loſt. I would therefore earneſtly preſs the apoſtles exhortation, *We then, as workers together with him, beſeech you alſo, that ye receive not the grace of God in vain: For he ſaith, I have heard thee in a time accepted, and in the day of ſalvation have I ſuccoured thee: Behold, now is the accepted time; behold, now is the day of ſalvation* ‡.

SUFFER me to beſeech you, or rather to give you warning not to reſt ſatisfied with a form of godlineſs, denying the power thereof. There can be no true religion, till there be a diſcovery of your loſt ſtate by nature and practice, and an unfeigned acceptance of Chriſt Jeſus, as he is offered in the goſpel. Unhappy they who either deſpiſe his mercy, or are aſhamed of his croſs! Believe it, *there is no ſalvation in any other.*

† Is not the whole of this paragraph a ſtriking ſpecimen of the doctor's artfully blending the moſt important concerns, with his rebellious ſentiments, in order that they may be the more greedily drunk in? *S. R.*

‡ 2 Cor. vi. 1, 2.

There

There is no other name under heaven given among men by which we muſt be ſaved. Unleſs you are united to him by a lively faith, not the reſentment of a *haughty* † monarch, but the ſword of divine juſtice hangs over you, and the fulneſs of divine vengeance ſhall ſpeedily overtake you. I do not ſpeak this only to the heaven-daring profligate, or grovelling ſenſualiſt, but to every inſenſible ſecure ſinner; to all thoſe however decent and orderly in thei- civil deportment, who live to themſelves, and have their part and portion in this life; in fine, to all who are yet in a ſtate of nature, for *except a man be born again, he cannot ſee the kingdom of God.* The fear of man may make you hide your profanity; prudence and experience may make you abhor intemperance and riot; as you advance in life, one vice may ſupplant another and hold its place; but nothing leſs than the ſovereign grace of God can produce a ſaving change of heart and temper, or fit you for his immediate preſence.

2. FROM what has been ſaid upon this ſubject, you may ſee what ground there is to give praiſe to God for his favours already beſtowed on us, reſpecting the public cauſe. It would be a criminal inattention not to obſerve the ſingular interpoſition of providence hitherto, in behalf of the American colonies. It is, however, impoſſible for me, in a ſingle diſcourſe, as well as improper at this time to go through every ſtep of our paſt tranſactions; I muſt therefore content myſelf with a few remarks. How many diſcoveries have been made of the deſigns of enemies in Britain and among ourſelves, in a manner as unexpected to us as to them, and in ſuch ſeaſon as to prevent their effect? What ſurprizing ſucceſs has attended our encounters, in almoſt every inſtance? Has not the boaſted diſcipline of regular and veteran ſoldiers been turned into confuſion and diſmay before the new and *maiden* courage of freemen, in defence of their property and right? In what great mercy

† An epithet in no reſpect applicable to our preſent lawful Sovereign: clemency and moderation are diamonds which ſhine with a brighter luſter in his crown, than in any that ever ſwayed the Britiſh ſcepter.—It is ſubmitted, if the epithets of *haughty* and *inſolent* are not vaſtly more applicable to the Doctor than the Prince. *S. R.*

has

has blood been ſpared on the ſide of this injured country? Some important victories in the ſouth have been gained with ſo little loſs, that enemies will probably think it has been diſſembled; as many, even of ourſelves thought, till time rendered it undeniable. But theſe were comparatively of ſmall moment. The ſignal advantage we have gained by the evacuation of Boſton, the ſhameful flight of the army and navy of Britain, was brought about without the loſs of a man. To all this we may add, that the counſels of our enemies have been viſibly confounded, ſo that I believe I may ſay with truth, that there is hardly any ſtep which they have taken, but it has operated ſtrongly againſt themſelves, and been more in our favour than if they had followed a contrary courſe. *

WHILE we give praiſe to God the ſupreme diſpoſer of all events, for his interpoſition in our behalf, let us guard againſt the dangerous error of truſting in, or boaſting of an *arm of fleſh*. I could earneſtly wiſh, that while our arms are crowned with ſucceſs, we might content ourſelves with a *modeſt* aſcription of it to the power of the higheſt †. It has given me a great uneaſineſs to read ſome oſtentatious, vaunting expreſſions in our news papers, though happily, I think, much reſtrained of late. Let us not return to them again. If I am not miſtaken, not only the holy ſcriptures in general, and the truths of the glorious goſpel in particular, but the whole courſe of providence ſeems intended to abaſe

* Has not the doctor, in the whole of this paragraph, begun too ſoon to boaſt, ſeeing the harneſs was not yet put off? [1 Kings xx. 11.]—Where were theſe ſurprizing ſucceſſes that attended the encounters of the rebellious coloniſts? Were they in the doctor's imagination, or in the American news-papers? —Where, and at what time, did the *maiden courage*, as the doctor is pleaſed to term it, of the provincial army, turn into confuſion and diſmay the diſcipline of his Majeſty's regular and veteran ſoldiers? Was it in Canada, at Long-Iſland, New-York, King's-bridge, Fort-Waſhington, the Jerſeys? *&c. &c.*—Where were the counſels of our King's miniſters, or his commanders, viſibly confounded? Was it by the aid the doctor gave to the congreſs; or in the pulpit at Prince-town, on the 17th of May laſt, when he ſounded the alarm of war, and publicly recruited for the rebel army? *S. R.*

† One would have thought, that the doctor would have been for aſcribing the *whole* ſucceſs to the Lord, which he ſo much boaſts of has crowned the American arms: No; *part* of it, muſt be aſcribed to the *maiden courage* of the coloniſts. *S. R.*

the

the pride of man, and lay the vain glorious in the duſt. How many inſtances does hiſtory furniſh us with of thoſe who, after exulting over, and deſpiſing their enemies, were ſignally and ſhamefully defeated*? The truth is, I believe, the remark may be applied univerſally, and we may ſay, that through the whole frame of nature, and the whole ſyſtem of human life, that which promiſes moſt, performs the leaſt. The flowers of fineſt colour ſeldom have the ſweeteſt fragrance. The trees of quickeſt growth or faireſt form, are ſeldom of the greateſt value or duration. Deep waters move with leaſt noiſe. Men who think moſt are ſeldom talkative. And I think it holds as much in war as in any thing, that every *boaſter* is a coward†.

PARDON me, my brethren, for inſiſting ſo much upon this which may ſeem but an immaterial circumſtance. It is in my opinion of very great moment. I look upon oſtentation and confidence to be a ſort of outrage upon providence, and when it becomes general, and infuſes itſelf into the ſpirit of a people, it is a forerunner of deſtruction. How does Goliath the champion, armed in a moſt formidable manner expreſs his diſdain of David the ſtripling with his ſling and his ſtone? *And when the Philiſtine looked about and ſaw David, he diſdained him: for he was but a youth, and ruddy, and of a fair countenance. And the Philiſtine ſaid unto David, Am I a dog, that thou comeſt unto me with ſtaves? And the Philiſtine curſed David by his gods; and the Philiſtine ſaid to David, Come to me and I will give thy fleſh unto the fowls of the air, and to the beaſts of the field.* But how juſt and modeſt the reply? *Then ſaid David to the Philiſtine, Thou comeſt to me with a ſword, and with a ſpear, and with a ſhield, but I come unto thee in the name of the*

* There is no ſtory better known in Britiſh hiſtory, than that the officers of the French army, the night preceeding the battle of Agincourt, played at dice for Engliſh priſoners before they took them, and the next day were taken by them.

† Has not this been remarkably verified in the ſhameful flight of the doctor from his pleaſant habitation, on the approach of His Majeſty's troops? Has it not alſo been made evident, in the many diſgraceful retreats of his *maiden-couraged* army, ſo much boaſted of by him, for doing mighty fates, on the approach of His Majeſty's veteran troops? *S. R.*

*Lord of hoſts, the God of the armies of Iſrael, whom thou haſt defied**. I was well pleaſed with a remark of this kind thirty years ago in a pamphlet†, in which it was obſerved, that there was a great deal of prophane oſtenation in the names given to ſhips of war, as the Victory, the Valiant, the Thunderer, the Dreadnought, the Terrible, the Fire-brand, the Furnace, the Lightning, the Infernal, and many more of the ſame kind. This the author conſidered as a ſymptom of the national character and manners very unfavourable, and not likely to obtain the bleſſing of the God of Heaven‡.

3. FROM what has been ſaid you may learn, what encouragement you have to put your truſt in God, and hope for his aſſiſtance in the preſent important conflict. He is the Lord of hoſts, great in might, and ſtrong in battle. Whoever hath his countenance and approbation, ſhall have the beſt at laſt. I do not mean to ſpeak prophetically, but agreeably to the analogy of faith, and the principles of God's moral government. Some have obſerved, that true religion, and, in her train, dominion, riches, literature, and arts, have taken their courſe in a ſlow and gradual manner, from eaſt to weſt ſince the earth was ſettled after the flood, and from thence forbode the future glory of America. I leave this as a matter rather of conjecture than certainty; but obſerve, that if your cauſe is juſt,—if your principles are pure,—and if your conduct is prudent‖, you need not fear the multitude of oppoſing hoſts.

* 1 Sam. xvii. 42, 43, 44, 45. † Britain's Remembrancer.

‡ I am ſenſible that one or two of theſe were ſhips taken from the French, which brought their names with them. But the greateſt number had their names impoſed in England; and I cannot help obſerving, that the Victory often celebrated as the fineſt ſhip ever built in Britain, was loſt in the night without a ſtorm, by ſome unknown accident, and about twelve hundred perſons, many of them of the firſt families in the nation were buried with it in the deep. I do not mean to infer any thing from this, but, that we ought to live under the practical perſuaſion of what no man will doctrinally deny, that there is no warring with the elements, or him who directs their force, that he is able to write diſappointment on the wiſeſt human ſchemes, and by the word of his power to fruſtrate the efforts of the greateſt monarch upon earth.

‖ It is an old and common ſaying, that *if's* and *and's* have ſpoiled many a good charter. Were we to judge of the goodneſs of the American cauſe by the effects which have attended it as yet, the doctor himſelf may by this time ſee,

If your cauſe is juſt—you may look with confidence to the Lord and intreat him to plead it as his own. You are all my witneſſes, that this is the firſt time of my introducing any political ſubject into the pulpit. At this ſeaſon, however, it is not only lawful but neceſſary; and I willingly embrace the opportunity of declaring my opinion without any heſitation, that the cauſe in which America is now in arms, is the cauſe of juſtice, of liberty, and of human nature. So far as we have hitherto proceeded, I am ſatisfied that the confederacy of the colonies, has not been the effect of pride, reſentment, or ſedition, but of a deep and general conviction, that our civil and religious liberties, and conſequently in a great meaſure the temporal and *eternal* happineſs of us and our poſterity depended on the iſſue*. The knowledge of God and his truths have from the beginning of the world been chiefly, if not entirely confined to theſe parts of the earth, where ſome degree of liberty and political juſtice were to be ſeen, and great were the difficulties with which they had to ſtruggle form the imperfection of human ſociety, and the unjuſt deciſions of uſurped authority. There is not a ſingle inſtance in hiſtory in which civil liberty was loſt, and religious li-

that their cauſe is neither juſt, nor their principles pure, nor has their conduct been prudent, otherwſe ſuch a train of diſappointments and unſucceſsful attempts, would not haveſo repeatedly marked their undertakings *S. R.*

* Will the doctor's *ipſe dixit*, that the cauſe in which America is now in arms, prove that it is the cauſe of juſtice, of liberty, and of human nature? Will his poſitively averring, that the confederacy of the colonies, is not the effect of pride, reſentment, or ſedition, gain credit with any but the deluded coloniſts, and theſe diſaffected to our civil adminiſtrations? How will the doctor be able to inſtruct, that not only the civil and religious liberties, but the temporal and eternal happineſs of the Americans depend on the ſucceſsful iſſue of their independent confederacy? Can paying a ſmall, neceſſary, and equitable taxation, in order to ſupport and defend the Americans in their rights and privileges, ever affect either their civil or religious liberties, or yet their temporal or *eternal* happineſs? Tho' the doctor, and his partizans, may alledge, the Americans being taxed at all, is an incroachment upon *civil* property, how will they be able to inſtruct, that their *religious* liberties have in the leaſt been invaded; or that either their temporal or *eternal* happineſs depend on the iſſue?—Many of the Americans have indeed, by their folly, endangered their *temporal* happineſs by their revolt, the doctor himſelf not excepted: But if the *eternal* happineſs of them and their poſterity depend on a ſucceſsful iſſue of it in their favours, it is to be feared they will have but a very precarious title to iternal felicity, even though they have the doctor himſelf on their head. *S. R.*

berty preſerved entire. If therefore we yield up our temporal property, we at the ſame time deliver the conſcience into bondage.

You ſhall not, my brethren, hear from me in the pulpit, what you have never heard from me in converſation; I mean, railing at the king perſonally, or even his miniſters and the parliament, and people of Britain as ſo many barbarous ſavages. Many of their actions have probably been worſe than their intentions. That they ſhould deſire unlimited dominion, if they can obtain or preſerve it, is neither new nor wonderful. I do not refuſe ſubmiſſion to their unjuſt claims, becauſe they are corrupt or profligate, although probably many of them are ſo; but becauſe they are men, and therefore liable to all the ſelfiſh bias inſeparable from human nature. I call this claim unjuſt of making laws to bind us in all caſes whatſoever, becauſe they are ſeperated from us, independant of us, and have an intereſt in oppoſing us. Would any man who could prevent it, give up his eſtate, perſon, and family, to the diſpoſal of his neighbour, although he had liberty to chuſe the wiſeſt and the beſt maſter? Surely not. This is the true and proper hinge of the controverſy between Great-Britain and America. It is however to be added, that ſuch is their diſtance from us, that a wiſe and prudent adminiſtration of our affairs is as impoſſible as the claim of authority is unjuſt. Such is and muſt be their ingnorance of the ſtate of things here, ſo much time muſt elapſe before an error can be ſeen and remedied, and ſo much injuſtice and partiality muſt be expected from the arts and miſrepreſentation of intereſted perſons, that for theſe colonies to depend wholly upon the legiſlature of Great-Britain, would be like many other oppreſſive connexions, injury to the maſter, and ruin to the ſlave*.

* The doctor, in this paragraph, does not only ſlyly inſinuate, but cut deep. The King, his miniſters, and the parliament, are repreſented, many of them at leaſt, as *unjuſt*, *corrupt*, and *profligate*, if not even *barbarous ſavages*: a dialect, it ſeems, he accuſtomed himſelf to out of the pulpit, as well as in it. If the *diſtance* of Britain from North-America renders a prudent adminiſtration impoſſible, and juſtifies their revolt; then, upon the ſame principles, and with much more propriety, the inhabitants of South-America and the Eaſt-Indies ſhould revolt from their reſpective ſovereigns.—Has the Britiſh claim of au-

THE management of the war itſelf on their part, would furniſh new proof of this, if any were needful. Is it not manifeſt with what abſurdity and impropriety they have conducted their own deſigns? We had nothing ſo much to fear as diſſenſion; and they have, by wanton and unneceſſary *cruelty* *, forced us into union. At the ſame time to let us ſee what we have to expect, and what would be the fatal conſequence of unlimited ſubmiſſion, they have uniformly called thoſe acts *Lenity*, which filled this whole continent with reſentment and horror. The inneffable diſdain expreſſed by our fellow ſubject, in ſaying, "That he would not hearken to America, till ſhe was at his feet," has armed more men, and inſpired more deadly rage, than could have been done by laying waſte a whole province with fire and ſword. Again, we wanted not numbers, but time; and they ſent over handful after handful, till we were ready to oppoſe a multitude greater than they have to ſend †. In fine, if there was one place ſtronger than the reſt, and more able and willing to reſiſt, there they made the attack, and left the others till they were duly informed, completely incenſed, and fully furniſhed with every inſtrument of war ‡.

thority over the Americans become *unjuſt*, ſince the doctor took up his reſidence among them? Can Britain be more ignorant of the ſtate of things among the Americans now than formerly?—Had the doctor kept his place in Beith, or even in Paiſley, it would have been more happy for the poor infatuated and deluded Americans to-day than it is.—

* What wanton inſtances of cruelty can the doctor mean? On the ſide of the King's troops we have not heard of any; but by the provincials, very many. When the doctor wrote this paragraph, had he no mind of the barbarous cuſtom of taring and feathering, practiſed by the provincials on his Majeſty's well-affected ſubjects; and their clearing ſome of their juſt debts with a brace of bullets through the head? And what amazing height of cruelty have they come to, in not only laying towns and cities waſte by fire, killing in cold blood, but inhumanely and wantonly mangling and diſmembering the body when dead in a moſt ſhocking manner? *S. R.*

† What has now become of theſe numbers? and what mighty atchievments have been done by them? durſt they ever yet face theſe handfuls? Nay, have they not always made precipitant and diſgraceful flights before his Majeſty's forces? *S. R.*

‡ What mighty fates has not the doctor made the provincial army do, in the pulpit at Prince-town, on the 17th of May laſt! What a figure in hiſtory will the heroic actions of theſe ſons of rebellion make, in future ages! The glorous ſtand they made at Long-Iſland! the gallant fight at New-York! routing the King's infatuated army at King's-bridge! Fort-Lee, *&c. &c.* will celebrate their gallantry!— *S. R.*

I MEN-

I MENTION theſe things, my brethren, not only as grounds of confidence in God, who can eaſily overthrow the wiſdom of the wiſe, but as deciſive proofs of the impoſſibility of theſe great and growing ſtates, being ſafe and happy when every part of their internal polity is dependent on Great-Britain. If, on account of their diſtance, and ignorance of our ſituation, they could not conduct their own quarrel with propriety for one year, how can they give direction and vigour to every department of our civil conſtitutions from age to age *? There are fixed bounds to every human thing. When the branches of a tree grow very large and weighty they fall off from the trunk. The ſharpeſt ſword will not pierce when it cannot reach. And there is a certain diſtance from the ſeat of government, where an attempt to rule will either produce tyranny and helpleſs ſubjection, or provoke reſiſtance and effect a ſeparation.

I HAVE ſaid, if your principles are pure—The meaning of this is, If your preſent oppoſition to the claims of the Britiſh miniſtry does not ariſe from a ſeditious and turbulent ſpirit, or a wanton contempt of legal authority; from a blind and factious attachment to particular perſons or parties; or from a ſelfiſh rapacious diſpoſition, and a deſire to turn public confuſion to private profit—but from a concern for the intereſt of your country, and the ſafety of yourſelves and your poſterity. On this ſubject I cannot help obſerving, that though it would be a miracle if there were not many ſelfiſh perſons among us, and diſcoveries now and then made of mean and intereſted tranſactions, yet they have been comparatively inconſiderable both in number and effect. In general, there has been ſo great a degree of public ſpirit, that we have much more reaſon to be thankful for its vigour and prevalence, than to wonder at the few appearances of diſhoneſty or diſaffection. It would be very uncandid to aſcribe the univerſal ardour that

* It is more than probable the doctor will now be convinced, though too late, that matters have been conducted with as much propriety by Britain, if he himſelf had been at the helm; notwithſtanding their *great diſtance*, and all that *ignorance* and *ſtupidity* he would have them to be poſſeſſed of. S.

has prevailed among all ranks of men, and the ſpirited exertions in the moſt diſtant colonies to any thing elſe than public ſpirit. Nor was there ever perhaps in hiſtory ſo general a commotion from which religious differences have been ſo entirely excluded. Nothing of this kind has as yet been heard, except of late in the abſurd, but malicious and deteſtible attempts of our few remaining enemies to introduce them. At the ſame time I muſt alſo, for the honour of this country obſerve, that though government in the ancient forms has been ſo long unhinged, and in ſome colonies not ſufficient care taken to ſubſtitute another in its place; yet has there been, by common conſent, a much greater degree of order and public peace, than men of reflexion and experience foretold or expected. From all theſe circumſtances I conclude favourably of the principles of the friends of liberty, and do earneſtly exhort you to adopt and act upon thoſe which have been deſcribed, and reſiſt the influence of every other.

Once more, if to the juſtice of your cauſe, and the purity of your principles you add prudence in your conduct, there will be the greateſt reaſon to hope, by the bleſſing of God, for proſperity and ſucceſs. By prudence in conducting this important ſtruggle, I have chiefly in view union, firmneſs, and patience. Every body muſt perceive the abſolute neceſſity of union. It is indeed in every body's mouth, and therefore inſtead of attempting to convince you of its importance, I will only caution you againſt the uſual cauſes of deviſion. If perſons of every rank, inſtead of implicitely complying with the orders of thoſe whom they themſelves have choſen to direct, will needs judge every meaſure over again, when it comes to be put in execution. If different claſſes of men intermix their little private views, or claſhing intereſt with public affairs, and marſhal into parties, the merchant againſt the landholder, and the landholder againſt the merchant. If local provincial pride and jealouſy ariſe, and you allow yourſelves to ſpeak with contempt of the courage, character, manners, or even language of particular places, you are doing

doing a greater injury to the common cauſe, than you are aware of. If ſuch practices are admitted among us, I ſhall look upon it as one of the moſt dangerous ſymptoms, and if they become general, a preſage of approaching ruin.

By firmneſs and patience, I mean a reſolute adherence to your duty, and laying your account with many difficulties as well as occaſional diſappointments. In a former part of this diſcourſe, I have cautioned you againſt oſtenation and vain glory. Be pleaſed further to obſerve, that extremes often beget one another; the ſame perſons who exult extravagantly on ſucceſs, are generally moſt liable to deſpondent timidity on every little inconſiderable defeat. Men of this character are the bane and corruption of every ſociety or party to which they belong; but they are eſpecially the ruin of an army, if ſuffered to continue in it. Remember the viciſſitude of human things, and the uſual courſe of providence. How often has a juſt cauſe been reduced to the loweſt ebb, and yet when firmly adhered to, has become finally triumphent? I ſpeak this now while the affairs of the colonies are in ſo proſperous a ſtate, leſt this proſperity itſelf ſhould render you leſs able to bear unexpected misfortunes—The ſum of the whole is, that the bleſſing of God is only to be looked for by thoſe who are not wanting in the diſcharge of their own duty. I would neither have you to truſt in an arm of fleſh, nor ſit with folded hands and expect that miracles ſhould be wrought in your defence.—This is a ſin which is in ſcripture ſtiled *tempting God.* In oppoſition to it, I would exhort you as Joab did the hoſt of Iſrael, who though he does not appear to have had a ſpotleſs character throughout, certainly in this inſtance ſpoke like a prudent general and a pious man. *Be of good courage, and let us behave ourſelves valiantly for our people, and for the crities of our God; and let the Lord do that which is good in his ſight* *.

I shall now conclude this diſcourſe by ſome exhortations to duty founded upon the truths, which have

* 2 Sam. x. 12.

been

been illuſtrated above, and ſuited to the intereſting ſtate of this country at the preſent time; and,

1. SUFFER me to recommend to you an attention to the public intereſt of religion; or, in other words, zeal for the glory of God and the good of others. I have already endeavoured to exhort ſinners to repentance; what I have here in view is to point out to you the concern which every good man ought to take in the national character and manners, and the means which he ought to uſe for promoting public virtue, and bearing down impiety and vice. This is a matter of the utmoſt moment, and which ought to be well underſtood, both in its nature and principles. Nothing is more certain than that a general profligacy and corruption of manners makes a people ripe for deſtruction. A good form of government may hold the rotten materials together for ſome time, but beyond a certain pitch even the beſt conſtitution will be ineffectual, and ſlavery muſt enſue. On the other hand, when the manners of a nation are pure, when true religion and internal principles maintain their vigour, the attempts of the moſt powerful enemies to oppreſs them are commonly baffled and diſappointed. This will be found equally certain, whether we conſider the great principles of God's moral government, or the operation and influence of natural cauſes.

WHAT follows from this? That he is the beſt friend to American liberty, who is moſt ſincere and active in promoting true and undefiled religion, and who ſets himſelf with the greateſt firmneſs to bear down prophanity and immorality of every kind. Whoever is an avowed enemy to God, I ſcruple not to call him an enemy to his country. Do not ſuppoſe, my brethren, that I mean to recommend a furious and angry zeal for the circumſtantials of religion, or the contentions of one ſect with another about their peculiar diſtinctions. I do not wiſh you to oppoſe any body's religion, but every body's wickedneſs. Perhaps there are few ſurer marks of the reality of religion, than when a man feels himſelf more joined in ſpirit to a truly holy perſon of a different denomination, than to an irregular liver of his own. It

is therefore your duty, in this important and critical ſeaſon, to exert yourſelves every one in his proper ſphere to ſtem the tide of prevailing vice, to promote the knowledge of God, the reverence of his name and worſhip, and obedience to his laws.

PERHAPS you will aſk, what it is that you are called to do for this purpoſe farther than your own perſonal duty? I anſwer, this itſelf, when taken in its proper extent, is not a little. The nature and obligation of viſible religion is, I am afraid, little underſtood, and leſs attended to.

MANY from a real or pretended fear of the imputation of hypocriſy, baniſh from their converſation and carriage, every appearance of reſpect and ſubmiſſion to the living God. What a weakneſs and meanneſs of ſpirit does it diſcover for a man to be aſhamed in the preſence of his fellow ſinners, to profeſs that reverence to almighty God which he inwardly feels? The truth is, he makes himſelf truly liable to the accuſation which he means to avoid. It is as genuine and perhaps a more culpable hypocriſy to appear to have leſs religion than you really have, than to appear to have more. This falſe ſhame is a more extenſive evil than is commonly apprehended. We contribute conſtantly, though inſenſibly, to form each others character and manners; and therefore, the uſefulneſs of a ſtrictly holy and conſcientious deportment is not confined to the poſſeſſor, but ſpreads its happy influence to all that are within its reach. I need ſcarcely add, that in proportion as men are diſtinguiſhed by underſtanding, literature, age, rank, office, wealth, or any other circumſtance, their example will be uſeful on the one hand, or pernicious on the other.

BUT I cannot content myſelf with barely recommending a ſilent example. There is a dignity in virtue which is entitled to authority, and ought to claim it. In many caſes it is the duty of a good man, by open reproof and oppoſition, to wage war with profaneneſs. There is a ſcripture precept delivered in very ſingular terms, to which I beg your attention; *Thou ſhalt not hate thy brother in thy heart, but ſhalt in any ways rebuke him, and not ſuffer ſin upon him.*

How

How prone are many to repreſent reproof as flowing from ill nature and ſurlineſs of temper? The Spirit of God, on the contrary, conſiders it as the effect of inward hatred, or want of genuine love, to forbear reproof when it is neceſſary, or may be uſeful. I am ſenſible there may, in ſome caſes, be a reſtraint from prudence, agreeably to that caution of Solomon, *Caſt not your pearls before ſwine, leſt they trample them under their feet, and turn again and rent you.* Of this every man muſt judge as well as he can for himſelf; but certainly, either by open reproof, or expreſſive ſilence, or ſpeedy departure from ſuch ſociety, we ought to guard againſt being *partakers of other mens ſins.*

To this let me add, that if all men are bound in ſome degree, certain claſſes of men are under peculiar obligations to the diſcharge of this duty. Magiſtrates, miniſters, parents, heads of families, and thoſe whom age has rendered venerable, are called to uſe their authority and influence for the glory of God and the good of others. Bad men themſelves diſcover an inward conviction of this, for they are often liberal in their reproaches of perſons of grave characters of religious profeſſion, if they bear with patience the profanity of others. Inſtead of enlarging on the duty of men in authority in general, I muſt particularly recommend this matter to thoſe who have the command of ſoldiers inliſted for the defence of their country. The cauſe is ſacred, and the champions for it ought to be holy. Nothing is more grieving to the heart of a good man, than to hear from thoſe who are going to the field, the horrid ſound of curſing and blaſphemy; it cools the ardour of his prayers, as well as abates his confidence and hope in God. Many more circumſtances affect me in ſuch a caſe, than I can enlarge upon, or indeed eaſily enumerate at preſent; the glory of God, the intereſt of the deluded ſinner, going like a devoted victim and imprecating vengeance on his own head, as well as the cauſe itſelf committed to his care. We have ſometimes taken the liberty to forebode the downfall of the Britiſh empire, from the corruption and degeneracy of the people. Unhappily the Britiſh ſoldiers

have been diſtinguiſhed among all the nations in Europe, for the moſt ſhocking profanity. Shall we then pretend to emulate them in this infernal diſtinction, or rob them of the horrid privilege? God forbid. Let the officers of the army in every degree remember, that as military ſubjection, while it laſts, is the moſt complete of any, it is in their power greatly to reſtrain, if not wholly to baniſh, this flagrant enormity.

2. I EXHORT all who are not called to go into the field, to apply themſelves with the utmoſt diligence to works of induſtry. It is in your power, by this means, not only to ſupply the neceſſities, but to add to the ſtrength of your country. Habits of induſtry prevailing in a ſociety, not only increaſe its wealth, as their immediate effect, but they prevent the introduction of many vices, and are intimately connected with ſobriety and good morals. Idleneſs is the mother or nurſe of almoſt every vice; and want, which is its inſeparable companion, urges men on to the moſt abandoned and deſtructive courſes. Induſtry, therefore, is a moral duty of the greateſt moment, abſolutely neceſſary to national proſperity, and the ſure way of obtaining the bleſſing of God. I would alſo obſerve, that in this, as in every other part of God's government, obedience to his will is as much a natural mean, as a meritorious cauſe of the advantage we wiſh to reap from it. Induſtry brings up a firm and hardy race. He who is inured to the labour of the field, is prepared for the fatigues of a campaign. The active farmer, who riſes with the dawn, and follows his team or plow, muſt in the end be an overmatch for theſe effeminate and delicate ſoldiers, who are nurſed in the lap of ſelf-indulgence, and whoſe greateſt exertion is in the important preparation for, and tedious attendance on, a maſquerade, or midnight ball *.

* It is probable the doctor is, by this time, thoroughly convinced, that the Britiſh troops can exert themſelves, in another manner than he here repreſents them, when they have an occaſion put into their hand in the field. And it, would, no doubt, be very mortifying to the doctor, to ſee theſe *active farmers*, whom he ſays would be an *over-match* for theſe *effeminate* and *delicate* ſoldiers, diſgracefully, on every occaſion, flying before them, and the doctor himſelf obliged to bear them company. *S. R.*

3. IN

3. In the laſt place, ſuffer me to recommend to you frugality in your families, and every other article of expence. This the ſtate of things among us renders abſolutely neceſſary, and it ſtands in the moſt immediate connection both with virtuous induſtry, and active public ſpirit. Temperance in meals, moderation and decency in dreſs, furniture, and equipage, have, I think, generally been characteriſtics of a diſtinguiſhed patriot. And when the ſame ſpirit pervades a people in general, they are fit for every duty, and able to encounter the moſt formidable enemy. The general ſubject of the preceding diſcourſe has been the wrath of man praiſing God. If the unjuſt oppreſſion of your enemies, which with-holds from you many of the uſual articles of luxury and magnificence, ſhall contribute to make you clothe yourſelves and your children with the works of your own hands, and cover your tables with the ſalutary productions of your own ſoil, it will be a new illuſtration of the ſame truth, and a real happineſs to yourſelves and your country.

I could wiſh to have every good thing done from the pureſt principles and the nobleſt views. Conſider, therefore, that the Chriſtian character, particularly the ſelf-denial of the goſpel, ſhould extend to your whole deportment. In the early times of Chriſtianity, when adult converts were admitted to baptiſm, they were aſked among other queſtions, Do you renounce the world, its ſhews, its pomp, and its vanities? I do. The form of this is ſtill preſerved in the adminiſtration of baptiſm, where we renounce the devil, the world, and the fleſh. This certainly implies not only abſtaining from acts of groſs intemperance and exceſs, but a humility of carriage, a reſtraint and moderation in all your deſires. The ſame thing, as it is ſuitable to your Chriſtian profeſſion, is alſo neceſſary to make you truly independent in yourſelves, and to feed the ſource of liberality and charity to others, or to the public. The riotous and waſteful liver, whoſe craving appetites make him conſtantly needy, is and muſt be ſubject to many maſters, according to the ſaying of Solomon, *The borrow-*

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er is ſervant to the lender. But the frugal and moderate perſon, who guides his affairs with diſcretion, is able to aſſiſt in public counſels by a free and unbiaſſed judgment, to ſupply the wants of his poor brethren, and ſometimes, by his eſtate, and ſubſtance, to give important aid to a ſinking country.

Upon the whole, I beſeech you to make a wiſe improvement of the preſent threatning aſpect of public affairs, and to remember that your duty to God, to your country, to your families, and to yourſelves, is the ſame. True religion is nothing elſe but an inward temper and outward conduct, ſuited to your ſtate and circumſtances in providence at any time. And as peace with God, and conformity to him, adds to the ſweetneſs of created comforts, while we poſſeſs them, ſo in times of difficulty and trial, it is in the man of piety and inward principle, that we may expect to find the uncorrupted patriot, the uſeful citizen, and the invincible ſoldier. God grant that in America, true religion and civil liberty may be inſeparable, and that the unjuſt attempts to deſtroy the one, may in the iſſue tend to the ſupport and eſtabliſhment of both.

THE END.

AN ADDRESS TO THE NATIVES of SCOTLAND, reſiding in AMERICA.

Countrymen and Friends,

AS ſoon as I had conſented to the publication of the foregoing ſermon, I felt an irreſiſtible deſire to accompany it with a few words addreſſed to you in particular. I am certain I feel the attachment of country as far as it is a virtuous or laudable principle, perhaps it would be nearer the truth to ſay, as far as it is a natural and pardonable prejudice. He who is ſo pleaſed may attribute it to this laſt when I ſay, that I have never ſeen cauſe to be aſhamed of the place of my birth; that ſince the revival of arts and letters in Europe, in the cloſe of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth century, the natives of Scotland have not been inferior to thoſe of any other country, for genius, erudition, military proweſs, or any of thoſe accompliſhments which improve or embelliſh human nature. When to this it is added, that ſince my coming to America at an advanced period of life, the friendſhip of my countrymen has been as much above my expectation as deſert; I hope every reader will conſider what is now to be offered, as the effect not only of unfeigned good-will, but of the moſt ardent affection.

It has given me no little uneaſineſs to hear the word *Scotch* uſed as a term of reproach in the American controverſy, which could only be upon the ſuppoſition that ſtrangers of that country are more univerſally oppoſed to the liberties of America than thoſe who were born

born in South-Britain, or in Ireland. I am ſenſible that this has been done in ſome news-papers and contemptible anonymous publications, in a manner that was neither warranted by truth, nor dictated by prudence. There are many natives of Scotland in this country, whoſe oppoſition to the unjuſt claims of Great-Britain has been as early and uniform, founded upon as rational and liberal principles, and therefore likely to be as laſting, as that of any ſet of men whatever. As to Great-Britain itſelf, time has now fully diſcovered that the real friends of America in any part of that kingdom were very few; and thoſe whoſe friendſhip was diſintereſted, and in no degree owing to their own political factions, ſtill fewer. The wiſe and valuable part of the nation were, and as yet are, in a great meaſure ignorant of the ſtate of things in this country; neither is it eaſy for the bulk of a people to ſhake off their prejudices, and open their eyes upon the great principles of univerſal liberty. It is therefore at leaſt very diſputable, whether there is any juſt ground for the diſtinction between Scots and Engliſh on this ſubject at all.

This diſpute, however, I do not mean to enter upon, becauſe it is of too little moment to find a place here, but ſuppoſing that, in ſome provinces eſpecially, the natives of Scotland have been too much inclined to ſupport the uſurpations of the parent ſtate, I will firſt endeavour to account for it, by aſſigning ſome of its probable cauſes; and then offer a few conſiderations which ſhould induce them to wipe off the aſperſion entirely, by a contrary conduct.

As to the firſt of theſe, I will mention what I ſuppoſe to have been the firſt and radical cauſe, and which gave birth to every other, of the diſaffection of ſome of the natives of Scotland to the juſt privileges of America. What I have in view was the friends of liberty in many places of America, taking the part of, and ſeeming to conſider themſelves as in a great meaſure engaged in the ſame cauſe with, that very diſtinguiſhed perſon, John Wilkes, Eſq; of London. This was done, not only in many writings and news-paper diſſertations, but one

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or two colonies, in ſome of their moſt reſpectable meetings, manifeſted their attachment to him, and ſeemed to conſider him as their patron and friend. N° 45, which was the moſt offenſive number of a worthleſs paper, was repeated and echoed, by the moſt ſilly and ridiculous alluſions to it, through every part of the country, and by many who could not tell what was ſignified by the term.

It will not be neceſſary to ſay much on the prudence of ſuch conduct, becauſe I ſuppoſe thoſe who expected Wilks's mob would pull down the parliament-houſe, or that there would be inſurrections all over the kingdom in behalf of America, are by this time fully ſatisfied of their miſtake. It appears now in the cleareſt manner, that, till very lately, thoſe who ſeemed to take the part of America in the Britiſh parliament, never did it on American principles. They either did not underſtand, or were not willing to admit, the extent of our claim. Even the great Lord Chatham's bill for reconciliation would not have been accepted here, and did not materially differ from what the miniſtry would have conſented to. The truth is, the far greateſt part of the countenance given in Britain to the complaints of this country, was by thoſe who had no other intention in it than to uſe them as an engine of oppoſition to the miniſtry for the time being. It is true, ſome of them have now learned to reaſon very juſtly, and upon the moſt liberal principles; but their number is not great, and it was not the caſe with any one ſpeaker or writer, whoſe works I have had the opportunity of peruſing, till the very laſt ſtage of the quarrel.

What effect this Wilkiſm (if I may ſpeak ſo) of many Americans may be ſuppoſed to have had upon the minds of gentlemen from Scotland, it is not difficult to explain. That gentleman, and his aſſociates, thought proper to found the whole of their oppoſition to the then miniſtry, upon a contempt and hatred of the Scots nation; and by the moſt illiberal methods, and the moſt ſcandalous falſehoods, to ſtir up a national jealouſy between the northen and ſouthern parts of the iſland. There was not a vile

term or hateful idea, which ancient vulgar animoſity had ever uſed, though long union had made them ſcarcely intelligible, which he did not rake up and attempt to bring into credit, by writing and converſation. The conſequence of this is well known. Wilks and ſome others were burnt in effigy in Scotland; and it produced ſo general an attachment to the king and miniſtry, as has not yet ſpent its force. In theſe circumſtances is it to be wondered at that many who left Scotland, within the laſt fifteen years, when they heard Wilks, and thoſe who adhered to him, extolled and celebrated by the ſons of liberty, ſhould be apt to conſider it as an evidence of the ſame ſpirit, and that they were engaged in ſupport of the ſame cauſe. Perhaps we may go a little higher with this remark, in tracing political appearances to their ſource. It is generally ſaid, that the King himſelf has diſcovered a violent, rancorous, perſonal hatred againſt the Americans. If this be true, and I know nothing to the contrary, it may be eaſily accounted for upon the very ſame principles.

I am far from ſuppoſing that this was a good reaſon for any man's being cool to the American cauſe, which was as different from that of Wilks, as light is from darkneſs. It was indeed doing great diſhonour to the noble ſtruggle, to ſuppoſe it to have any connection with who ſhould be in or out of court-favour at London; and therefore it was always my opinion, that thoſe who railed againſt the King and miniſtry only, did not carry the argument home, nor fully underſtand the nature of their own plea. In order to juſtify the American oppoſition, it is not neceſſary to ſhew that the perſons in power have invaded liberty in Britain; it is ſufficient to ſay, that they, with the concurrence of the whole nation, have refuſed to ſuffer it to continue in the colonies.

This leads me to the ſecond part of my deſign, which was to lay before you the reaſons which, I think, ſhould induce every lover of juſtice and of mankind, not only to be a well-wiſher, but a firm and ſtedfaſt friend to America, in this important conteſt.

It has been often ſaid, that the preſent is likely to be

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an important æra to America. I think we may ſay much more; it is likely to be an important æra in the hiſtory of mankind. In the ancient migrations, a new country was generally ſettled by a ſmall unconnected, and often an ignorant band. The people and the ſoil were alike uncultivated, and therefore they proceeded to improvement by very ſlow degrees; nay, many of them fell back and degenerated into a ſtate vaſtly more ſavage than the people from whence they came. In America we ſee a rich and valuable ſoil, and an extenſive country, taken poſſeſſion of by the power, the learning, and the wealth of Europe. For this reaſon it is now exhibiting to the world a ſcene which was never ſeen before. It has had a progreſs in improvement and population, ſo rapid as no political calculators have been able to aſcertain. I look upon every thing that has been ſaid upon this ſubject to be mere conjecture, except in ſuch places as there has been an actual numeration. When men ſay that America doubles its number in fifteen, twenty, or twenty-five years, they ſpeak by gueſs, and they ſay nothing. In ſome places that may be under or over the truth; but there are vaſt tracts of land that fill every year with inhabitants, and yet the old ſettled places ſtill continue to increaſe.

It is proper to obſerve, that the Britiſh ſettlements have been improved in a proportion far beyond the ſettlements of other European nations. To what can this be aſcribed? Not to the climate; for they are of all climates: Not to the people; for they are a mixture of all nations. It muſt therefore be reſolved ſingly into the degree of Britiſh liberty which they brought from home, and which pervaded more or leſs their ſeveral conſtitutions. It has been repeated to us, I know not how often, by the mercenary ſhort-ſighted writers in favour of ſubmiſſion to, or re-union with Great-Britain, that we have thriven very much in paſt times by our dependence on the mother-country, and therefore we ſhould be loth to part. Theſe writers forget that the very complaint is, that ſhe will not ſuffer us to enjoy our ancient rights. Can any paſt experience ſhew that we ſhall thrive under

new impoſitions? I ſhould be glad any ſuch reaſoners would attempt to prove that we have thriven by our dependence, and not by the degree of independence which we have hitherto enjoyed. If we have thriven by our dependence, I conceive it is a neceſſary conſequence that thoſe provinces muſt have thriven moſt which have been moſt dependent. But the contrary is ſelf-evident. Thoſe which have hitherto enjoyed the freeſt form of government, though greatly inferior in ſoil and climate, have yet outſtripped the others in number of people and value of land, merely becauſe the laſt were more under the influence of appointments and authority from home.

When this is the undeniable ſtate of things, can any perſon of a liberal mind wiſh that theſe great and growing countries ſhould be brought back to a ſtate of ſubjection to a diſtant power? And can any man deny, that if they had yielded to the claims of the Britiſh parliament, they would have been no better than a parcel of tributary ſtates, ruled by lordly tyrants, and exhauſted by unfeeling penſioners, under the commiſſion of one too diſtant to hear the cry of oppreſſion, and ſurrounded by thoſe who had an intereſt in deceiving him *. It ought, therefore, in my opinion, to meet with the cordial approbation of every impartial perſon, as I am confident it will of poſterity, that they have united for common defence, and reſolved that they will be both free and independent, becauſe they cannot be the one without the other.

As this meaſure, long foreſeen, has now taken place, I ſhall beg leave to ſay a few things upon it; in which

* The doctor, in the whole of this Addreſs, as well as in ſundry paſſages in the preceding Sermon, has given uncontеſted evidences of his being an implacable enemy both to his King and country. In the preſent paragraph, and p. 42. and in Serm. p. 9, 23, 28, 36. he ſpeaks with the utmoſt indignity of his lawful ſuperiors. Could even Wilks himſelf, that arch enemy to his lawful Sovereign, and to the prudent meaſures of the Britiſh parliament, have uttered himſelf with more contempt and diſdain? Is it poſſible for the moſt ſtench friends of the doctor, to offer any apology for the ſide he has now taken, and the part he is at preſent acting? Does it at all comport with his former principles and profeſſion to act the part of a traitor to his King, an enemy to his country, and a ſower of ſedition and rebellious courſes among his fellow-ſubjects, which the Spirit of God declares to be as the *ſin of witchcraft?* S. R.

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I mean to ſhow, 1. That it was neceſſary. 2. That it will be honourable and profitable. And, 3. That, in all probability, it will be no injury, but a real advantage, to the Iſland of Great-Britain.

1. It had become abſolutely neceſſary. All reconciliation, but upon the footing of abſolute unconditional ſubmiſſion, had been poſitively refuſed by Great-Britain; unleſs, therefore, the colonies had reſolved to continue in a looſe and broken ſtate, with the name of a government which they had taken arms to oppoſe, the ſtep which they have now taken could not have been avoided. Beſides, things had proceeded ſo far, and ſuch meaſures had been taken on both ſides, that it had become impoſſible to lay down a ſcheme by which *they* ſhould be ſure of our dependence, and *we*, at the ſame time, ſecured in our liberties. While things continued in their ancient ſtate, there was perhaps a power on the part of each, of which they were hardly conſcious, or were afraid and unwilling to exert. But after the encroachments had been made and reſiſted, to expect any thing elſe than a continual attempt to extend authority on the one hand, and to guard againſt it on the other, is to diſcover very little knowledge of human nature. In ſuch a ſituation, though every claim of America ſhould be yielded, ſhe would ſoon be either in a ſtate of continual confuſion, or abſolute ſubmiſſion. The king of England, living in his Engliſh dominions, would not, and indeed durſt not, aſſent to any act of an American legiſlature, that was, or was ſuppoſed to be hurtful to his Engliſh ſubjects. This is not founded on conjecture, but experience. There is not (at leaſt Dean Swift affirms it) any dependence of Ireland upon England, except an act of the Iriſh parliament, that the king of England ſhall be the king of Ireland. This laſt has a ſeperate independent legiſlature, and in every thing elſe, but the above circumſtance, ſeems to be perfectly free; yet if any man ſhould aſſert, that the one kingdom is not truly ſubject to the other, he would, in my opinion, know very little of the ſtate and hiſtory of either.

2. A ſtate

2. A ſtate of independency will be both honourable and profitable to this country. I paſs over many advantages in the way of commerce, as well as in other reſpects, that muſt neceſſarily accrue from it, that I may dwell a little on the great and leading benefit, which is the foundation of all the reſt. We ſhall have the opportunity of forming plans of government upon the moſt rational, juſt, and equal principles. I confeſs I have always looked upon this with a kind of enthuſiaſtic ſatisfaction. The caſe never happened before ſince the world began. All the governments we have read of in former ages were ſettled by caprice or accident, by the influence of prevailing parties or particular perſons, or preſcribed by a conqueror. Important improvements indeed have been forced upon ſome conſtitutions by the Spirit of daring men, ſupported by ſucceſsful inſurrections. But to ſee government, in large and populous countries, ſettled from its foundation, by deliberate counſel, and directed immediately to the public good of the preſent and future generations, while the people are waiting for the deciſion with full confidence in the wiſdom and impartiality of thoſe to whom they have committed the important truſt, is certainly altogether new. We learn indeed from hiſtory that ſmall tribes and feeble new ſettlements, did ſometimes employ one man of eminent wiſdom, to prepare a ſyſtem of laws for them. Even this was a wiſe meaſure, and attended with happy effects. But, how vaſt the difference, when we have the experience of all paſt ages, the hiſtory of human ſociety, and the well-known cauſes of proſperity and miſery in other governments, to aſſiſt us in the choice*?

The proſpect of this happy circumſtance, and the poſſibility of loſing it, and ſuffering the ſeaſon to paſs over, has filled me with anxiety for ſome time. So far as we have hitherto proceeded, there has been great

* It would have quite exceeded every degree of modeſty for the doctor to have here mentioned *his own* aſſiſtance; though, no doubt, it was the thoughts of being employed to plan a ſyſtem of government, and form a cod of laws for the regulation of the revolted provinces of America, that filled him with a kind of *enthuſiaſtic ſatisfaction*, to uſe his own phraſe, at the preſent ſcheme of independency, as this would conſiderably gratify his ambitious mind. *S. R.*

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unanimity and public ſpirit. The inhabitants of every province, and perſons of all denominations, have vied with each other in zeal for the common intereſt. But, was it not to be feared that ſome men would acquire over-bearing influence? that human weakneſs and human paſſions would diſcover themſelves, and prevent the finiſhing of what had been ſo happily begun? In the time of the civil wars in England, had they ſettled a regular form of government aſſoon as the parliament had obtained an evident ſuperiority, their liberties would never have been ſhaken, and the revolution would have been unneceſſary. But by delaying the thing ſo long, they were broken into parties and bewildered in their views, and at laſt tamely ſubmitted, without reſiſtance, to that very tyranny againſt which they had fought with ſo much glory and ſucceſs. For this reaſon I think that every candid and liberal mind ought to rejoice in the meaſures lately taken through the ſtates of America, and particularly the late declaration of independence, as it will not only give union and force to the meaſures of defence, while they are neceſſary, but lay a foundation for the birth of millions, and the future improvement of a great part of the globe.—I have only further to obſerve,

3. That I am confident the independence of America will, in the end, be to the real advantage of the Iſland of Great-Britain. Were this even otherwiſe, it would be a weak argument againſt the claim of juſtice. Why ſhould the ſecurity or proſperity of this vaſt country be ſacrificed to the ſuppoſed intereſt of an inconſiderable ſpot? But I cannot believe that the miſery and ſubjection of any country on earth, is neceſſary to the happineſs of another. Blind partiality and ſelf-intereſt may repreſent it in this light; but the opinion is deluſive, the ſuppoſition is falſe. The ſucceſs and increaſe of one nation is, or may be, a benefit to every other. It is ſeldom, indeed, that a people in general can receive and adopt theſe generous ſentiments; they are nevertheleſs perfectly juſt. It is induſtry only, and not poſſeſſions, that makes the ſtrength and wealth of a nation; and

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this is not hindered, but encouraged, provoked, and rewarded by the induſtry of others*.

But to leave the general principle, or rather to apply it to the caſe of Great-Britain and America: What profit has the former hitherto received from the latter? and what can it reaſonably expect for the future? Only its trade, and ſuch part of that trade as tends to encourage the induſtry and increaſe the number of the inhabitants of that Iſland. It will be ſaid, they intend to raiſe a large, clear, net revenue upon us, by taxation. It has been ſhewn by many, that all the taxes which they could raiſe, would only ſerve to feed the inſatiable deſire of wealth in placemen and penſioners, to increaſe the influence of the crown, and the corruption of the people. It was by the acquiſition of numerous provinces that Rome haſtened to its ruin. But even ſuppoſing it otherwiſe, and that without any bad conſequence among themſelves, they were to acquire a great addition to their yearly revenue, for every ſhilling they gained by taxes, they would loſe ten in the way of trade. For a trifling addition to the ſums of public money to be applied or waſted by miniſters of ſtate, they would loſe ten times the quantity diſtributed among uſeful manufacturers, the ſtrength and glory of a ſtate. I think this has been ſometimes compared to the difference between draughts of ſpirituous liquors to intoxicate the head or weaken the ſtomach, and cool refreſhing food to give ſoundneſs, health, and vigour to every member of the body.

The trade, then, of America, as ſoon as peace is ſettled, will be as open to them as ever. But it will be ſaid, they have now an excluſive trade, they will then but ſhare it with other nations. I anſwer, an excluſive trade is not eaſily preſerved, and when it is preſerved, the reſtriction is commonly more hurtful than uſeful. Trade is of a nice and delicate nature; it is founded upon intereſt: It will force its way wherever intereſt leads, and can hardly by any art be made to go in ano-

* See David Hume's Eſſay on the jealouſy of trade.

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ther direction. The Spaniards have an excluſive trade, as far as they pleaſe to confine it, to their own plantations. Do they reap much benefit from it? I believe not. Has it made their own people more induſtrious at home? Juſt the contrary. Does it, in the natural courſe of things, make a people leſs careful to work as well and as cheap as others, to procure voluntary purchaſers, when they know they can ſend their goods to thoſe who are obliged to take them? Does it not both tempt and enable great merchants in the capital, to import from other nations what they can export to ſuch a forced market, to advantage? By this means a conſiderable profit may come into the coffers of a few particulars, while no eſſential ſervice is done to the people, and the ultimate profit is carried to that country where the goods are produced or fabricated. It has been repeatedly ſaid, by political writers in England, that the balance of trade is againſt that country to every nation, excepting Portugal, and their own plantations. I will not anſwer for the truth or univerſality of this aſſertion; but if it is true in any meaſure, I will venture to affirm, upon the principles of general reaſon, that the cauſe which produces it is no other than the excluſive trade they have hitherto enjoyed to the American ſettlements.

But the circumſtance which I apprehend will contribute moſt to the intereſt of Great-Britain in American Independence is, its influence in peopling and enriching this great continent. It will certainly tend to make the American States numerous, powerful, and opulent, to a degree not eaſily conceived. The great and penetrating Monteſquieu, in his Spirit of Laws, has ſhewn in the cleareſt manner, that nothing contributes ſo much to the proſperity of a people, as the ſtate of ſociety among them, and the form of their government. A free government overcomes every obſtacle, makes a deſart a fruitful field, and fills a bleak and barren country with all the conveniencies of life. If ſo, what muſt be the operation of this powerful cauſe upon countries enjoying, in the higheſt degree, every advantage that can be derived from ſituation, climate, and ſoil? If the trade

of America has hitherto been of ſo great benefit to England, how much more valuable may it be when theſe countries ſhall be ſtill more highly improved, if ſhe ſhall continue to enjoy it? This argument is liable to no objection but what may ariſe from the loſs of an excluſive trade, which I have already conſidered. It may be added, however, that there is not now, nor ever has been, any averſion in the Americans to the people of Great-Britain, ſo that they may be ſure of our trade, if they treat us as well as others; and if otherwiſe, they do not deſerve it.

I might illuſtrate the argument, by ſtating the probable conſequences of a contrary ſuppoſition. If Great-Britain ſhould prevail, or overcome the American ſtates, and eſtabliſh viceroys, with abſolute authority, in every province, all men of ſpirit and lovers of freedom would certainly withdraw themſelves to a corner, if ſuch could be found, out of the reach of tyranny and oppreſſion. The numbers of the people at any rate would ſenſibly decreaſe, their wealth would be ſpeedily exhauſted, and there would remain only a nominal authority over a deſolate country, in return for a vaſt expence laid out in the conqueſt, and in place of a great and profitable trade, by which both nations were made happy. One of the arguments, if they may be called ſo, made uſe of againſt this country, and on which an obligation to obedience has been founded, is taken from the expence they have been at in blood and treaſure for our protection in former wars. This argument has been often anſwered in the fulleſt manner; but if they ſhall continue to urge it, how fearful to think of the obligations we ſhall be under, after this war is finiſhed? Then ſhall we owe them all the ſums which they ſhall have laid out in ſubduing us, and all that we have ſpent in attempting to prevent it; all the blood which they ſhall have ſhed in attacking us, and all that we ſhall have ſpilt in our own defence *. There is unqueſtionably a loſs to

* The time has been when the doctor would have thought all this highly juſt and equitable; and no doubt right in thinking ſo. May not this afford a melancholy

to Great-Britain, by the one ſide of the account as well as the other; and it tends to ſhow, in the cleareſt manner, the unſpeakable folly, as well as great injuſtice, of the promoters of this war.

Thus I have ſtated to you, though very briefly, the principles on which I think the American cauſe ought to be pleaded, and on which it ought to be eſpouſed and ſupported, by every lover of juſtice and of mankind. But though the general plea in juſtice were leſs clear than it is, there is a light in which the conduct of the oppoſers of it has always appeared to me unreaſonable and ungenerous to the higheſt degree. That reſiſtance to Great-Britain has been determined on, in the moſt reſolute manner, through all the colonies, by a vaſt majority, is not only certain, but undeniable. In the beginning of the controverſy, ſome writers, with an impudence hardly to be paralelled, called the fact in queſtion, attempted to deceive the people in this country, and effectually deceived the people of England, by making them believe, that it was only a few factious and violent men that had engaged in the conteſt *. It is not very long ſince a writer had the courage to aſſert, that, "nine tenths of the people of Pennſylvania were againſt independence." The falſehood of ſuch miſrepreſentations is now manifeſt, and indeed was probably known from the beginning, by thoſe who deſired to have them believed. Taking this for granted, then, for an inconſiderable minority, whether natives or ſtrangers,

melancholy reflection to the doctor himſelf, and the other leaders of the American rebellion? What blood and treaſure have already been expended, in this ruinous and expenſive war! and who can tell how much more may yet be added to the account, before a period is put to it? Who can be blamed for it, but the promoters of the rebellion? *The leaders of this people have cauſed them to err, and brought them into deep waters.* S. R.

* Admitting it to be, even as the doctor would have it, that a vaſt majority through all the colonies were for reſiſting the authority of Great-Britain, would it at all juſtify the atrocious crime, or excuſe theſe factious and ſelf-deſigning men, who primarly agitated the revolt, and inflamed the minds of the deluded populace? Would it be a ſanction for iniquity, though the greateſt part of the world were become irreligious and profane?—But we are credibly informed, by ſundry perſons who have left the reſpective colonies ſince the revolt took place, that the inſurrection in America is far from being general. The kindly reception his Majeſty's forces have met with, juſtifies the aſſertion. *S. R.*

to ſet themſelves in oppoſition to the public councils, is contrary to reaſon and juſtice, and even to the very firſt principles of the ſocial life.

If there is any principle that was never controverted upon the ſocial union, it is, that as a body every ſociety muſt be determined by the plurality. There was a time when it was not only juſt and conſiſtent but neceſſary, that every one ſhould ſpeak his mind freely and fully of the neceſſity or expediency of reſiſting the authority of Great-Britain: But that time is over long ago. The meaſures being reſolved upon, and the conflict begun, one who is barely neuter can ſcarce be forgiven; a ſecret plodding enemy muſt be conſidered as a traitor*. Every perſon who continued among us after the deciſive reſolutions formed by all the colonies, ought to be conſidered as pledging his faith and honour to aſſiſt in the common cauſe. Let me try to illuſtrate it by a ſimilar caſe. Suppoſe that a ſhip at ſea ſprings a leak, which expoſes the whole company to the moſt imminent danger of periſhing. Suppoſe a counſel is called of all the perſons on board to determine what port they ſhall endeavour to gain. Then it is not only the right, but the duty of every one to ſpeak his own judgment, and to preſs it upon others by every argument in his power. Suppoſe a great majority determines to puſh for a certain place, and to go to the pump by turns every quarter of an hour; but that two, or three, or one, if you pleaſe, is of opinion that they ſhould have gone another courſe, becauſe of the wind, current, or any other circumſtance, and that it would be beſt to change hands at the pump only every half hour. All this is well. But if after the determination, this ſame gentleman, becauſe his advice

* If a ſecret plodding enemy, according to the doctor, muſt be conſidered as a traitor, and no doubt puniſhed as ſuch; what ſhall be ſaid of an open and avowed enemy; and what examplary puniſhment is due unto him? In the year 1745 and 1746, when the laſt rebellion took place in Scotland, the doctor was then of opinion, that the rebels had juſtly forfeited His Majeſty's clemency and protection, and deſerved to be examplary puniſhed as enemies to their king and country. Will he not alſo think, that the American rebels have incured His Majeſty's diſpleaſure, and ſhould be puniſhed as traitors? *S. R.*

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was not followed, ſhould refuſe to pump at all, ſhould ſlily alter the ſhip's courſe, or deaden her way by every means in his power, or even ſhould only, by continual complaints and deſpondent fears, diſcourage others on whoſe activity the common ſafety depended. I deſire to know what treatment he would receive or deſerve? Without doubt he would be thrown over board in leſs time than I have taken to ſtate the caſe. I am not able to perceive the leaſt difference between this ſuppoſition and what takes place in America at the preſent time.

If this argument is juſt with reſpect to every inhabitant of the country, it ought to have ſome additional weight with thoſe who are not natives, and whoſe reſidence is not certain, or has not been long. There is a great degree of indecency in ſuch taking any part againſt what the majority of the inhabitants think to be their intereſt and that of their country. Were they even wrong, their miſtake ſhould be lamented, not reſiſted; on the contrary, it would be the part both of generoſity and juſtice to ſupport them effectually in a conteſt which wiſdom would have declined. We ſee indeed every day melancholy inſtances of a baſe and ſelfiſh temper operating different ways. Many when they do not obtain that rank and honour which their pride and partiality think their due, or if there advice is not followed, immediately renounce the ſervice of their country, and it may go to deſtruction for them. In oppoſition to this, let me recommend the example of the illuſtrious Fabius of Rome. He had given ſtrict orders to all his officers not to engage the enemy, but to keep at a diſtance. Unluckily his lieutenant-general, by his own raſhneſs, got entangled with a part of the army under his command, and was engaged. Fabius, preferring his country's good to fame, rivalſhip, and ſafety, came immediately to his ſupport with all expedition, and thereby gained a glorious and complete victory.

I hope you will take in good part the above reflections, which, I think, contain nothing that is virulent or indecent

indecent againſt any man or body of men*. They are the effects of judgment and conviction. The Author, as is probably known to many of you, has been perſonally abuſed in news-papers at home for the part he was ſuppoſed to have taken in the American cauſe, which was in ſome degree indeed the motive to this addreſs. He hopes that an honeſt and faithful ſupport of liberty and equal government in this part of the world, will be no juſt reproach to his character, either as a ſcholar, a miniſter, or a chriſtian, and that it is perfectly conſiſtent with an undiminiſhed regard for the country which gave him birth.

The above is ſubmitted to your candid peruſal, by

Gentlemen,

Your ſincere friend, and

Obedient humble ſervant,

The AUTHOR.

* It is not a little ſurpriſing to ſee what degrees of infatuation, even men of ſagacity and penetration will be left to fall into, and how much they will be prejudiſed in favours of their own ſchemes and ſentiments, however ridiculous and abſurd. Will any but the doctor himſelf, or ſuch as have drunk as deep in the political deluſion, be of opinion, that there is nothing *virulent* or *indecent* in this addreſs?—Is not the King repreſented as a haughty monarch, diſcovering a violent rancourous hatred to America?—Is not the Britiſh parliament charged as uſurping an unjuſt claim over the Americans, and invading their liberties?—Is not the miniſters, the governors, and people of Britain accuſed as mercenary and corrupt; and all the taxations laid on the Americans ſaid to be deſigned only to feed the inſatiable deſire of lordly tyrants, unfeeling penſioners, wealthy placemen, and to increaſe the influence and corruption of the crown, and to be waſted by miniſters of ſtate?—Is there nothing *virulent* or *indecent* in all this? *S. R.*

FINIS.

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